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The Christian Socialist

The Golden Rule Against the Rule of Gold

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LATE BISHOP FREDERICK D. HUNTINGTON.

Passages from Sermons and Addresses

Of the Late Right Reverend Frederick D. Huntington, Bishop of Central New York

"The saddest feature of it all is the waste of human life, the fact that the wonderful possibilities in these human brothers are never unfolded and realized. A social and industrial system in which one man controls thousands of lives and is possessed of millions of money; in which able-bodied men, willing to work, walk the streets in desperation looking for a job; in which tenements are not fit for pigsties, where women fight with fever, and infants pant for air and wail out their little lives; in which the sweaters' den and the grog shop thrive—such a society is very far indeed from that order which God wishes and ordains."

* * *

"The mission of the Church is evident; the Church's credentials are clear; the need of the world is great. Nothing could be more weak and pitiable than for the churches to confess that whole provinces of life lie beyond their interest. Nothing could be more cruel and cowardly than for the churches to say that they have no word to offer on the problems which make the peril and the opportunity of our time. Nothing could be more calamitous and shortsighted than for the churches to leave to outsiders, to unbelievers even, the discussion of current wrongs and the leadership in moral reform."

* * *

"Will the fire scorch Hebrew monopolists only? Will it skip the pews of the nineteenth century capitalists, owners of foul sweatshops, of unsanitary tenements, selfishly managed mines, factories and railways, because the warnings have rung down through eighteen centuries? There are inequalities that the Almighty permits; there are other inequalities which man makes and God abhors and rebukes. One of these must be where a privileged, shrewd and importunate employer makes miseries along with his millions."

* * *

"Societies for bettering the condition of the poor, for tenement house reforms, for sending the Gospel to foreign lands—these we have and their name is legion and their beneficence is undisputed; but a society for reforming the vicious conditions and correcting the abuses in every class—that begins at the bottom and cleans house to the top, where shall we find that? The rich cry to one another: 'The poor are our greatest curse; we must get rid of poverty.' They do not say to one another: 'We are the curse, with our luxuries, sordidness, pride, vanity and selfishness.' We have been called upon again and again to sit on committees and consider the sins of the Bowery; who calls a meeting to consider the sins of Fifth avenue?"

"Mankind is not now to be redeemed, but to be taught that the Redeemer of men's souls is the Redeemer of society, of the nation, of the State."—From "Present Aspect of the Church Social Union," 1895.

"Christ was a social reformer. His reform was not that of a politician or the doctrinaire, but of the statesmanship of everlasting equity."—From a sermon, "The Master Workman," 1899.

* * *

"It is intolerable to all right religion that numbers of people should be miserable and needy while there is plenty and to spare in the Father's house. No one who believes in Jesus Christ can believe that it is the will of the Heavenly Father that one part of the human family shall go hungry and destitute while another part is living in luxury and ease."

The Social Conscience

From what source shall the social will of Democracy draw its food? Within what view of the universe shall it get its breeding? Just as the Christianity of the future must look more and more to the needs of a free State, even so must the free State look more and more toward the Christian interpretation of life in man and in God as the Bible bears witness to it.

The modern free State exists in order that the area of highest privilege may be as broad as humanity in order that all men may live nobly. Any other bottom for political theory is a false bottom.

The abstract doctrine of equality has value only as a revolutionary force. But the concrete doctrine is a permanent element in the social constitution. It means equality in the right to be individual. Hence it draws after it the moral necessity of undoing political laws which make the individuality of some a bar to the individuality of many men, and of removing certain economic conditions which make it impossible for masses of mankind to be individual at all.—From the Genesis of the Social Conscience by Rev. Dr. Henry Nash.

Socialism: Practical Christianity

By Rev. Percy Dearmer, M. A., of the Church of England

It is extraordinary how little Christian people realize the meaning of their own religion. so that they are actually shocked very often at Socialism; and yet all the while Socialism is doing just the very work which they have been commanded by their Master to do. This fact is so obvious that no representative and responsible Christian body dares to deny it.

Christ was born in a stable. He came as a working man. He worked at His own trade till He was thirty; and then, choosing other working men as His companions, He tramped about the country as one that had not where to lay His head; and, after three years, He was executed by the law of the land, because He preached revolutionary doctrines, which the common people "heard gladly," and because, while blessing the poor, He constantly denounced two classes—the respectable religious leaders and the rich.

This was not only a reversal of all that the Jews expected, but it was also a new phenomenon in the world's history. No one before had ever thought of setting up the dignity of labor as the great factor of social regeneration. Nay, even the noblest of Greek philosophers, the constructors of ideal States, had utterly failed to take account of labor, and had based their ideal "republics" upon slavery. To Plato, even, the masses had but "half a soul"; while Aristotle, who regarded slaves as "living machines," and women as nature's failures to produce men, wrote: "Certainly there may be some honest slaves and women; nevertheless it may be said that woman generally belongs to an inferior species, while a slave is an utterly despicable being" (*Polit.* i, 13). And in Athens, B. C. 309, the slaves are said to have numbered 400,000 out of a total population of 515,000!

But by the Incarnation not only was labor given its true position, but the unity of the whole race was proclaimed. Humanity itself and in its solidarity was taken upon Himself by the

Divine Word, and every human being declared to be an infinitely sacred and precious thing, with transcendent rights to the fullest development.

Nor was there any doubt about it from the first. Christ's Mother knew it as soon as she knew that He was to be born of her; and she sang that revolutionary hymn which is still, curious to relate, repeated every evening in church: "He hath scattered the proud in the imagination of their hearts, He hath put down the mighty from their seats, And hath exalted them of low degree. He hath filled the hungry with good things, And the rich He hath sent empty away" (*Luke* i, 51-53).

The man who was sent as Christ's forerunner to prepare the way before Him knew it also. "Every valley shall be filled," he cried (*Luke* iii, 5), "and every mountain and hill shall be brought low," putting the *levelling* principle in a nutshell. And when the people asked him what they ought to do, he just told them to practice communism: "He that hath two coats let him impart to him that hath none, and he that hath meat let him do likewise" (*Luke* iii, 11). Is it not just what Socialists are trying to do—to level up the valleys, to scatter the proud, to fill the hungry by an equal distribution? And yet now it is the *poor* who are sent empty away!

If we for a moment try to apply the law of Christian brotherhood to our present conditions, it is clear that they cannot stand for one moment before it. All monopolies must go, all class distinctions must go, and war must be no more. Society must become collectivist, for we are not to lay up treasures for ourselves upon the earth (*Matt.* vi, 19), we are each to labor, and not to take interest upon capital (*Luke* vi, 34, 35)—interest being the great modern means of obtaining money without working for it—we are not to maintain private property (*Matt.* xix, 21; 2 *Cor.* ix, 9; *Luke* xii, 13-21), but are to work in complete co-operation and harmony (1 *Cor.* 12). We are to love our neighbor as *ourself*, to vote for his interests as our own, to educate his children as we would like our own educated, to feel his wrongs as wrongs done to us. We are to do to him as we would have him do to us were our places changed; and "*this is* the law and the prophets" (*Matt.* vii, 12). That goes much further than the Socialist maxim, "Each man counts as one, and no man as more than one." If our brother is poor, we must labor for his release from the grinding, harassing toil which shuts out from him the higher things of life.

St. James perfectly understood this great truth that the social revolution will be really a blessing for the rich. He stated it in the clearest terms: "Let the brother of low degree rejoice in that he is exalted; but the rich in that he is made low; because as the flower of the grass he shall pass away" (*James* i, 9, 10). This passage, by the way, happens to be the special Epistle for May 1st, which is St. James' Day, and therefore it has been read throughout the Church on every Labor Day for about 1,500 years! It is still bound to be read every May Day.

The identity of true Socialism with true Religion is nowhere more clearly shown than in the Christian teaching about riches. The great rival power to God is not any of the common bugbears of the religious world—not heathendom, or popery, or the public-house, or the theater—but Mammon. If, then, we are fighting against the power of riches, we are essentially Christian. "Ye cannot serve God and Mammon" (*Matt.* vi, 24; *Luke* xvi, 13). And St. Paul makes it still clearer when he says (*Col.* iii, 5) that idolatry, the worship of a rival to God, is covetousness. The common religious notion of idolatry is that it consists in putting up graven images in church; but the New Testament has given the word a different meaning—it is the worship of the graven image of the Queen upon a sovereign. Covetousness is now so openly professed that the economists build a science upon it; yet St. Paul constantly mentions it as an equally disgraceful thing even with nameless vices—to take a milder instance, he says (*Eph.* v, 5): "No whoremonger, nor unclean person, nor covetous man who is an idolater hath any inheritance in the Kingdom of Christ." And covetousness was the sin of Judas.

Once more, I repeat it. If the love of money is the root of all evil (1 *Tim.* vi. 10), we can only make the people good Christians by making the State the common trustee, which shall pay us all justly for work duly done; "not looking each of you to his own things, but each of you also to the things of others" (*Phil.* ii, 4).

Thus Socialism is the church's own old teaching revived. It is getting to understand that; and the age of social lethargy and religious competition is passing away. Every Socialist who understands how deeply religion has been concerned in every movement that has ever won the enthusiasm of men, every Socialist who realizes how enormous is the work before him, must welcome the assistance of this ancient and imperishable organ of love and justice. And every Christian who rejoices in the singular growth of religious zeal during this century, must long to see all that huge force given to the service of the Humanity which Jesus Christ has taken up into the Godhead. For the man that loves much is a Socialist, and the man that loves most is a Saint, and every man that loves the brotherhood is in a state of salvation.

We know that we have passed from death unto life,
Because we love the brethren.

Charles Kingsley on Socialism

In 1871 there was issued from the press a book written by the famous Charles Kingsley, giving an account of a pleasure trip in the waters of the West Indian Ocean made two years before. It is well known that Dr. Kingsley was a Socialist, and it is not surprising therefore to find the following Socialist sentiments on page 143 of the book, which is called "A Christmas in the West Indies."

He has been giving an account of the care of certain companies in those parts, for their Coolie labor, and the glaring lack of care and attention for the Coolies by other companies and speaks of the "laws" that ought to be passed for the benefit of the semi-slaves and says:

"I know but too well that whether in Europe or in the Indies no mere laws, however wisely devised, will fully protect the employed from the employer, or again the employer from the employed. What is needed is a moral bond between them—a bond above, or rather beneath that of mere wages, however fairly paid for work, however fairly done. The patriarchal system had such a bond: so had the feudal; but they are both dead and gone, having done, I presume, all that it was in them to do and done it like all human institutions not over well. And meanwhile, that nobler bond, after which *Socialists*, so-called, have sought, and after which I trust, they will go on seeking still—a bond which shall combine all that was best in patriarchism and feudalism with that freedom of the employed which those forms of society failed to give—has not been found yet, and, for a generation or two to come, "cash payments" seem likely to be the only nexus between man and man. Because that is the meanest and weakest of all bonds, it must be watched, and severely, by any government worthy of the name; for to leave it to be taken care of by the mere brute tendencies of supply and demand, and the so-called necessities of the labor market, is simply to leave the poor man who cannot wait, to be blockaded and starved out by the rich who can."

Here was an Episcopal minister studying the social questions with a keen intelligence nearly thirty years ago, and discerning the fact at that early stage of capitalistic development, that Socialism is the only remedy.—A. L. B-C.

The Creed of a Socialist

By the Right Reverend W. D. P. Bliss, of the Protestant Episcopal Church of America

To me the dearest clause in the Apostles creed is: "He descended into hell." If that clause were not there, or if it were not true, I do not think I could believe in God or Christ or the creed. A God who could stay in heaven while his children were in hell, a Christ who is the Savior but of the comparatively few who follow him in this life, a creed whose light does not flash far on to universal restoration, universal goodness, universal victory, would not be a God or Christ or creed for me. A selfish God, a partial Savior, a creed with hope for select, might be of the devil but not of God. I could not be Calvinist, nor Armenian, nor Roman, nor sectarian of any kind. That multitudes of good people do hold such creeds, I am aware: they are, I think, wiser and better and more Christian than their creeds; but my creed sweeps on in evolution from the lowest beginnings of existence, on and up to the everlasting victory of perfect goodness for every living being. Hell and Purgatory and Heaven are to me but different rooms in the graded school of existence, connecting chambers in the many mansions of my Father's House.

But this clause in the creed means to me more than victory; it means the way to victory. If Jesus preached in hell; that means, if I am to follow him, hell should be my parish. This is theologically why I am a Catholic, neither a Romanist nor a Protestant; why I am a Socialist, and neither Paternalist nor Individualist. Romanism and Paternalism say: "Give up striving, enter the fold, lie down in green pastures, and let God and the Pope or some Benevolent Feudalist or wise Despot or millionaire Philanthropist take care of you. Society according to this view makes the individual.

"I, Charles, by the grace of God, King of Great Britain, France and Ireland, Defender of the Faith." "I, John Winthrop, by the grace of God and the favor of King Charles, Governor of the Province of Massachusetts, and defender of its liberties." "I, John Smith, by the grace of God, and the appointment of the Governor, hangman of Massachusetts and upholder of the majesty of the law." All power runs from the King and he rules by a right divine.

The same principle works in different ways. The man is the head of the house, the main duty of the wife is to obey and to bring his slippers. Pius X by the grace of God, successor of Peter, vicegerent of God upon earth, infallibly speaks, and all the faithful know thereafter what is of faith. William Third, Kaiser of Germany, grants to his dear children insurance against old age, sickness, or accident. Thoughtless workingmen cry, "All we need to do is to turn industry over to the State and have the State care for us, then Heaven shall be realized on earth." And from such a heaven may the dear Lord deliver us.

The principle is the same. Organization is responsible for the individual, and all that man has to do is to consent to be nursed, coddled, and caressed; to be carried to the skies on flowery beds of omnipotent organization.

Such as I understand it is neither Christianity nor Socialism. Christianity is not a scheme for getting men into Heaven. It is a life whereby man, working with God, can create Heaven. We shall never get into any Heaven that we don't help build. Christ may preach in hell, but He never turns hell into Heaven. He simply shows us how and helps hellish souls themselves to become heavenly. Goodness is not being saved; goodness is choosing the good.

"Tho God be good and pure be heaven,
  No voice divine can love compel,
And tho the song of sin forgiven
  May sound through lowest hell,
The sweet persuasion of His voice
  Respects thy sanctity of will;
He giveth day; thou hast thy choice
  To walk in darkness still."

Similarly Socialism is not Paternalism, but Fraternalism. We Socialists do not want much government ownership, until we are very sure that the people own the government. Socialism is not trust in machinery, nor circumstance nor environment. It is the people co-operatively owning and controlling and operating their own machinery and circumstance and environment. Democracy is of its essence. "Society," as Maurice says, "shall never be made anew by arrangements"; but a people who work together and with God, can make a new heaven and a new earth.

They cannot, however, by working separately, even though they work with God. Or rather they who work separately do not work with God. A Bible verse condemns three classes of people: the sensual, the unspiritual and "those who separate themselves." Separateness is sin. To forget this has been the mistake of individualism and of Protestantism. According to them the individual makes society. In religion individuals come together and agree upon a statement of opinions. They found a "church." Their place of worship is a "Meeting House." They examine and admit into "the church" all whom they think worthy and who assent to their profession of opinion.

But, those who agree soon disagree. The day after they have made their profession of opinion they begin to change. It is right that they should change; growth implies change. But what is the result? The more progressive, the best, those who grow the fastest break away and formulate some new statement of opinion, which in its turn can only endure, until there be a new separation, a new meeting house, a new sect, a new division. The illustrations of this theory are found on every New England hillside and upon every Western prairie.

The same theory is applied to social reform. The individual makes society, hence the only way to reform society, is to reform the individual. We must make men good, one by one; thus only can society be reached. The one thing needful is self-reliance, self-development, thrift, economy, push, individual independence. Let every working man save, let his wife save. Let the man put this in a co-operative bank, which he with others has created. The man must work; his wife must leave the baby and go out and work, too; no matter about the baby; the baby must take care of itself. Babies should be independent; Johnnie must leave school and sell papers on the streets; he must help buy the house. By and by, when the family life is exhausted, when the baby has gone where babies left to themselves must go, when Johnnie has learned all the vice of the streets, when the mother has become a "scrub," and the father a "hand," when all joy of life is gone, *then* the family can own a house, a square box, in a row of square boxes, each exactly like its neighbor—such is American independence. Let the man never join a trade union, for that would be to sacrifice his American independence. If he is sick or unfortunate, or out of work, or in any way gets worsted in the battle of life, let the successful build tenements or public libraries for the unsuccessful; but always let them charge enough rent to pay a fair interest, otherwise it is not business and you destroy that delicate sense of individual independence.

If the wives of the unsuccessful grow discouraged and become slack before the everlasting problem of how the family can live, cook, eat, sleep, marry, and take in boarders, all in two rooms, let the agents, or better still, the wives and aesthetic daughters of the successful pushers, go down and collect the rent. Let them always investigate and see if the family be worthy, and if they are worthy, let these aesthetic rent collectors pour out—not money (let them never give money to the poor, only let them collect money from the poor), but let them pour forth good advice, how to scrimp, how to save, how to make bone soup, how to make something out of nothing, how to save, save, save, till at last worn out by saving, they go to a better world in a pine coffin, decently and independently, beholden to nobody, for ever and ever to save their own souls in Heaven.

"Organized charity scrimped and iced,
In the name of a cautious, statistical Christ."

Such is the modern scientific effort to develop individuality among the poor.

We do not mean to speak slightingly or disrespectfully of this view. Deep in it lie all the sanctities of Protestant religion, and the sanctities of Protestantism are among the things of which this world is not worthy. It was necessary that the world pass through Protestantism. Deep in it, distorted, perhaps, and yet there, lies the infinite truth of the worth and of the responsibility of the individual will. Ill becomes it in many of us, children of Protestant forefathers, remembering our father's prayers, our mother's faith, to speak ill of their religion.

Nevertheless this does not seem to us Christianity according to Jesus. Jesus Christ never formulated a creed nor founded a church nor a sect. He was a Jew and remained one to the end. He kept the law. He was circumcized, baptized, made a "son of the law." He kept feast and fast. He bade those whom he healed go and show themselves to the priests and obey the law which Moses commanded and that, even though Jesus called these very priests "hypocrites." He said, "All therefore whatsoever they bid you observe, that observe and do, but do ye not after their works, for they say and do not." Jesus Christ was the great conformist. Even seeking heaven for ourselves is not Christianity. We know little so contrary to the letter and the spirit of the evangels as what is called evangelical religion. Jesus said, "If any man will come after me, let him deny himself." "Whosoever will save his life shall lose it and whosoever will lose his life for my sake shall find it." After four centuries of a "soul saving" religion, Protestantism is dying almost as fast as Romanism. What the church needs is to be willing to take on our life for Christ, to go down into hell and build up heaven there. The church that goes into the secular and tries to do God's will there and turn this earth into heaven is the church that will find its own life, because it will be the church that follows Christ.

So with social reform. In America more than in any other country we have preached and above all we have practiced the Gospel of Push. Each for self has been our religion and our sociology. What is the result? Naturally the big pushers have pushed the little ones to the wall. John D. Rockefeller and John P. Morgan are the perfectly natural results of our theology and of our political economy. Push for heaven means push on earth. The one big ram gets into heaven (or thinks he does) and the ninety-nine are out, far out from the streets of gold. There is no country in the world where there is so little economic freedom as in the United States; no country in the world so under the rule of combinations and monopolies and the big rams of the market.

And so for one I can neither be a Romanist nor a Protestant; neither paternalist nor individualist. I do not think Christ was. I think Christ was a Christian and a Socialist. He believed in striving, but in the strife to do good to others, not in competition, but in co-operation. Early in my thinking I said that it was Jesus Christ who made me a Socialist and Carl Marx who made me a Christian. I do not think I ever understood Christianity nor to tell the truth cared much for it, until I became a Socialist. Then I began to see how the struggle for self was landing the church in quagmires of sectarianism and spiritual selfishness and landing society in serfdom to the great millionaire barons. The way out, too, seemed to me to grow clear; to follow Jesus; to work for others; to work with others; not to separate myself, to go down into hell if need be; but to keep a good grip on my neighbor; to work for the common good, common ownership, common operation, the common cause, with the common leader and praying the "common prayer." Then I saw that that "service was perfect freedom." When all work for all, abundance will be produced for all. When all shall share with all, each will have enough. Then will worry, which is the great enslaver and the great weakener, disappear and each man will be free to do his best in art, in invention, in learning, in morals. The way to victory is surrender of self to the common weal.

This is why I stay in the church, even though it seems to me so mammonized, that I think it must go down into the gates of death before it can truly live. I cannot believe in a Socialist sect. I try to preach to the spirits in hell and slowly build up heaven.

So, too, I have never believed in forming a sectarian Socialist party. I have believed in staying in the old parties (Hell, if you like to call it so) and educating them, until at least enough people were converted to Socalism, to make a large people's Socialist party, large enough to include many schools of Socialistic thought with liberty for each. That time has, I think, now arrived, or is arriving in many sections. And so my creed and my sociology go together and, limpingly as best I can, I strive to live my faith.

A penny a copy for any number of this issue from ten to ten hundred. Roll them in.

A Moral Analysis of Society

By Rev. A. L. Byron-Curtiss, Rector St. Joseph's Church, Rome, N. Y.

A Marxian Socialist arrives at Socialism by a mathematical analysis of Capitalism. While I am a Marxian Socialist, I will not speak of this phase of Socialism. Rather, following the "cue" of Marx I will try to so examine the moral, ethical, spiritual conditions of society, facing things as they are, as to make you see that Socialism as we call it, should be worked for, strived for, by every Christian, affording as it does a relief from the evils of the present. To show that the competitive system under which we "live and move and have our being," is inherently wrong. That it can by no means be called Christian. My remarks, too, will be based very largely on my personal experience, observations, deductions, debates and arguments; many of the latter with my brethren who think I am fanatical in being a Socialist; indiscreet, undignified and unprofessional in being an active member of the Socialist party.

We find immense inequalities in wealth in the present state of society. Greater and more profound than when we were children. Greater and more stupendous than a century ago. Greater and more tragic than in the dawn of modern civilization, or in any period of so-called Christian civilization. And we cannot say to-day that "it is the will of God." In the days when a king had no coals to burn, nor glazed windows in his palace, and the poor were as comfortable as he without them, when all lived closer to and shared the poverty of nature, we might have believed it was the will of God. But not now, when the members of one class eat their dinners from a pail, or scoop it into their mouths in hot haste in a cheap restaurant, while members of the other class command so much wealth that they give monkey dinners and birthday parties to lap dogs, as a pastime, can we say it is the will of God? Dare any one of my readers say to a fellow human being, whose body is misshapen by ceaseless toil, whose expressionless face is made so by corporeal labor from tender years, sitting on the curb eating a "snack," that it is the "will of God" that he is where he is, and as he is, mentally and physically, while the bounties of nature, refinedly, artistically, splendidly arrayed, are "cornered" and lavishly spread for the delection and amusement of attendants upon the festivities around the corner?

Let us take the complexities of the competitive system. At a Mission held in my parish the following hypothetical question was placed in the box: "A man is told by his employer to give short weight, adulterate goods, or otherwise perpetrate a fraud on the public. His refusal means his dismissal. He has a family to support. What should he do?" The missionary gave the following very proper answer: "As a priest I can give but one answer to this question: The man should get another job." Ah, yes. As exponents of the word of God we can give but "one answer." But anyone, priest or layman, knows, if he is at all conversant with modern business, that a man will have to look far and long ere he finds a business where no fraud, deceit or cheating is done, in some way. Let me prove it by an example from normal business. In the making of gloves the trade demands a "buckskin" glove. Sheep skins are tanned so as to represent buckskin. Gloves are made therefrom and marked with a rubber stamp, "warranted buckskin." Now if we cannot expect the girl employe engaged in this multiplicity of lie-making to refuse and quit her job, might we not expect the manufacturer to stop it? As "Christians" we can give but "one an-

(Continued on Page Six.)

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A Prophecy

These things shall be: A loftier race
　Than e'er the world hath known shall rise
With flame of freedom in their souls
　And light of knowledge in their eyes.

They shall be gentle, brave and strong
　To spill no drop of blood, but dare
All that may plant man's lordship firm
　O'er earth and fire and sea and air.

Nation with nation, land with land,
　Unarmed shall live as comrades free,
In every heart and brain shall throb
　The pulse of one fraternity.

Great minds shall rise with ampler powers,
　A loftier wisdom to impart:
And arts shall bloom of nobler mold,
　And mightier music thrill the heart.

Then want and woe and sin and shame
　No more shall triumph 'neath the skies,
But every life shall be a song,
　And earth be more like Paradise.

—J. A. Symonds.

We Keep Still—Almost

We have omitted writing editorials for this issue. In the first place there isn't space for them and in the second place we want the comrades of the Protestant Episcopal Church to have free swing this time.

It is hard to keep still in this issue, because it will probably have a larger circulation than any previous one. But if you want to know what we really think, and if you want to get a formidable case against us as writers and reasoners you had better subscribe for the Christian Socialist, unless you are already on our list.

In fact, we are writing this little paragraph to invite you to join the host of regular subscribers and make up your mind if they are all wrong when they say that the Christian Socialist is one of the greatest papers of modern times. It would be worth quite a little to you to have a chance to size a few thousand of those enthusiasts up.

Then, too, we need you in this mighty movement for Socialism. You may be able to eke out a miserable existence without us, but the cause of Socialism cannot get along without you. If you come in on the ground floor with us you can do a wonderful amount of good. And when you do come you better make up your mind not to become a drone. We have no drones and do not propose to keep any. Socialism means a great big beehive with lots of honey and honey bees. But you know what happens to drones in an intelligent beehive.

Now we are going to keep still. We only wanted to say to you that if you like this issue and think the Christian Socialist worth reading you can have it twice a month from now on at fifty cents a year. Moreover, this is not the only great issue—they are all great.

If you could sit at our desk for one week and read the letters we get from all over the world you would think that the Christian Socialist is filling one of the greatest needs in civilization. And it is.

We are now formulating a plan whereby we may be able to get the Christian Socialist into at least a hundred thousand homes regularly within the coming year. We will tell you all about this a little later.

Do you know that this is a great time to live? Have you sized up your glorious opportunities? Have you caught the vision of a redeemed world which can be redeemed only as you do your duty and follow the Master's command?

We must have justice—economic and political justice. We must have a change to something better. This cut-throat system of competition must not be allowed to continue longer. This cry of the children, this moaning of the women, this slaughter of the men must cease.

And who shall make it cease? If the Christian people stand idly by and let others do it—for done it must be—then the Christian religion is a mockery and the church a monstrous hoax. If the church stands idly by and refuses to do her duty she must die even as all idlers under Socialism must die.

But the church will not fail in this great struggle. She will rise up in mighty power. She will cry aloud for justice, and plead for righteousness. She will put on the whole armor of God and go forth to do battle—not a battle in blood, but in brotherhood. The sword of the spirit of truth is her weapon. She will wield it.

And O, ye ministers of God, what a momentous opportunity lies before you! Have you grasped the situation? "I have set thee a watchman." How have you watched? Two million children are now being ground up in the mills of child labor in this country. How are you watching? Ten million weary women are in factories and sweatshops to keep body and soul together and twenty million men are drifting bruteward under the oppression of white slavery. How are you watching? The underworld is filling up with victims of want whose salvation from cold and hunger must be obtained by selling their virtue. Are you watching them? Our armies and navies are enlarged for the profession of public murder. Do you watch? Do you watch the injustice of the courts, the corruption of the legislatures, the vice of the government? Do you watch the mountains of wealth and the valleys of want? Do you watch the slander heaped upon religion and the dishonor heaped upon our Master by a world unjustly dealt with? Do you watch humanity crucified and with it Jesus crucified anew? "I have set you a watchman."

Go, speak unto the people, and show them the way to freedom. Go, tell them that competition is war and war is hell. Go, teach them the principles of brotherhood and co-operation. Speak to the people in the name of righteousness and love and lead them into the land of promise.—B.

How They Do Come

Orders for this issue have been pouring in since in November. No great flood has come, however, until now recently. We are now simply deluged with orders in letters and telegrams. "Send two hundred to me," says one. "Be sure and save five hundred for me," writes another.

"Print five hundred more for me—one thousand in all," telegraphs a third and so on.

One hundred such messages together, with the thousands of individual smaller orders would swell this issue to something like a hundred and fifty thousand.

We want you to catch the real fire of this interest. If you know of a single person who has not seen a copy of this issue you should secure one for him. Be sure that every minister gets one. The church people are hungering for the Christian Socialist and want it. Be a true missionary and put it into their hands.

Order now. We cannot keep the forms very long. We must hear at once what you want. We can fill your order however big it is, if you send it now.

You remember the rates, do you not? Only a cent a copy in bundles of ten or more.

Nothing will make the capitalists squeal like an awakened church. Nothing will hasten the incoming of Socialism like the liberated minister of the gospel.

Now is the time to push. Push hard. Push till we have reached the hilltop. Then we will all take a rest while we view the glories of the "land that flows with milk and honey."

Protest Meeting in Church

February 17 was the anniversary of the kidnaping of Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone by the Governors of Idaho and Colorado. For one whole year those three men have been confined in the county jail at Boise, Idaho, without a trial, charged with complicity in the murder of ex-Governor Steunenberg. Many protest meetings were held on the 17th all over the country. The Center in Chicago gave its service to such a meeting, adopting suitable resolutions.

The only church in the country, however, so far as we know, to take a part in this demonstration, was the People's Congregational Church in South Chicago, Rev. W. H. McPherson pastor. The meeting was held at the regular evening hour and an enthusiastic audience filled the church. Comrade Bentall, of the Christian Socialist, delivered the address, and Comrade McPherson, who is a clean-cut Socialist, made some striking and appropriate remarks.

The church is one of the most progressive in the city and takes a firm stand for right in every department of its work. With a young and energetic pastor like Comrade McPherson, this church is destined to become historic by its progressiveness and for the part it is taking in advocating economic justice. This church is to be congratulated on its courage to maintain a minister who preaches the whole gospel of Jesus and on the part it is taking in solving the great world problem now before the peoples of the earth.

The Fellowship Convention

The Christian Socialist Fellowship Center of Chicago extends by unanimous vote taken Sunday, Feb. 24, a cordial invitation to the National Christian Socialist Fellowship to hold its second conference in Chicago this summer. The Center will endeavor to make all the comrades who attend this convention welcome.

Chicago is centrally located and offers many excellent opportunities for an influential meeting of this national body. The ministry and Christian people of Chicago will, we believe, take hold at this convention and make it a glorious success.

The Center is expanding and becoming a power both in way of inspiring the comrades and also in way of propaganda. The convention will be a great inspiration to the Center and the Center will do its best to make the convention a mighty power for good.

Comrade Carr's review of Dietzgen's book under the heading "The Folly of Materialism" has received extended comment. Many of the ministers will be interested in this article. We have a few copies of the issue left in which this article appears—but only a few. Do you want it? If enough orders come in it will be printed in pamphlet form.

Ten cents for a bundle of ten of this great edition of the Christian Socialist. Spend a dime for a good cause.

History-Making on Historic Ground

(Editorial Itinerary.)

The early flowers are blooming in old North Carolina as I write (Feb. 20) and the plow is busy in the garden, yet no trees are green except the never-fading cedar and magnolia. The atmosphere is balmy and the ravishing spirit of love is in the air. All the plants, birds and beasts are telling of the thrilling hope within, and soon new life will Spring up everywhere.

Winston-Salem was one of the Meccas of this Southern trip and I was rejoiced to find a half dozen of the leading comrades waiting for me when the train arrived. They gave me a royal welcome and carried me away to the comfortable home of J. P. Taylor where every possible courtesy was extended by Comrade Taylor, Mrs. Taylor and the children. It was a restful and delightful home atmosphere. Mrs. Taylor is an interesting and stimulating personality and instantly reminds one of that other charming lady and model hostess, Mrs. Strobell, six hundred miles away.

A special meeting of the Ministers' Association had been arranged for the afternoon (an excellent hint for comrades elsewhere) and I addressed them for an hour and tried to answer their questions.

A large audience, including some of the ministers, assembled in the Courthouse at night to hear "Christianity and Socialism." A deep impression was made, judging from many comments too flattering for me to repeat.

On Sunday morning, by courtesy of the pastor, Rev. E. E. Williamson, I preached to a large audience in the Burkhead M. E. Church (South) and in the evening, by kindness of Rev. Dr. Kreitzberg, I spoke to an audience even larger in the Centenary M. E. Church (South). It was a rich delight for me to meet with these able ministers and true southern Christian gentlemen, and to speak to their large and enthusiastic audiences.

It will not do for me to recite the generous, superlative compliments which these sermons drew from ministers, people and press; but wherever the comrades can arrange for me to preach on Sunday morning or evening, especially to a large audience, it will do immense good by attracting local attention to our movement and removing prejudice. We must claim the Church for Socialism. It belongs to our movement by reason of its Christ ideals of justice and brotherhood which are impossible of realization under capitalism, and we must get into the churches to stake our claim.

On Saturday night I lectured on "The Failure of Capitalism" to about forty men at Clemmons Academy, a Moravian school ten miles out in the country, whose principal, Rev. Hall, is also pastor of the church there. I thus enjoyed my first visit with a Moravian minister to whose people we are so greatly in debt for the spiritual awakening of John Wesley which resulted in the great revival in England and America under John and Charles Wesley, Fletcher, Whitefield and others and in the establishment of the Methodist Church in both countries.

Count Zinsendorf, the great European friend of the persecuted Moravians, bought a large tract of land in North Carolina and gave it for a refuge to the Moravians who came to America in large numbers in early colonial times. Salem is one of their strongholds and the home of their bishop for the Southern Province of America.

It was while upon a missionary journey to the New World that John Wesley, always a member of the Church of England, during a terrible storm at sea, was impressed with the joyful confidence that filled the Moravians in the face of death on account of their experimental religion. He afterward sought and found that "Strange warming of the heart" which has made Methodism spread like fire over England and America.

But the religious glory of the 18th and 19th centuries was as nothing compared to the spiritual splendor that shall burst upon and sweep over the world when justice and love are enthroned in government and industry as they can be only under Socialism. Then religion shall burst into full bloom and fruitage and earth will become a Paradise fit for the sons of God.

And so, on historic religious ground we Socialists are sowing the seed that shall produce the most glorious spiritual harvest the ages ever knew.

On Monday night I was to have spoken in the City Hall at Winston, but the Merchants' Association claimed it, and therefore the comrades moved over to the elegant Palm Room of the Zinsendorf hotel. The speech was fairly started when my eyes and throat were strangely affected, and it did not seem that my remarks were pathetic enough to cause the tearful sniffling of the audience. The evidence was soon too strong for further doubt,—the room was full of deadly ammonia-gas from a broken pipe in the ice plant beneath us, and we departed weeping and gasping. Under the head, "It Moved 'Em," the leading paper gave us a facetious editorial advertisement which filled the City Hall next night to hear my "Factors of Life-Progress." This is a new lecture on Socialism, science and religion which generally makes the comrades shout for joy; and even I will admit there is some reason for their enthusiasm!

Through the influence of Comrade Speas, a loyal Methodist Socialist, the Elmwood M. E. Church in the country was secured for Wednesday night, and it was crowded to hear our message. Some beautiful Socialist songs from Moyer's fine book were given by the Misses Speas. The meeting was excellent in every way.

That day I spent in the commodious country home of Comrade Speas and was completely captivated with the grace and hospitality of himself, his noble wife and his lovely daughters. The conversation, the music, the dinner;—if any young fellows of the right *sort* want some practical information and sound advice I am fully prepared to furnish it. "None but Socialists need apply."

The night of Feb. 13 I spent at Pfafftown at the home of Comrade Geo. Wilson and his widowed mother. His father, the Rev. Virgil Wilson, recently deceased, was a minister of the Christian Church, the pioneer Socialist thereabouts and a great friend of THE CHRISTIAN SOCIALIST. It was an honor for me to rest beneath that sacred roof.

The next day we drove through the sweet sunshine and balmy air over the strange-looking red-clay roads to King, where Comrade Grabbs runs a furniture factory and agitates for Socialism. His comfortable home and plenteous board illustrate again the fact that it is not the worst exploited people (who need Socialism most) who are foremost in our propaganda, but those who, *less dulled by drudgery and want, feel the need of it most* for themselves and others.

Toward evening the temperature suddenly lowered, the wind blustered fiercely and the hall was much too cold for comfort. To cap the climax the chief light went out (though the lamp had been carefully filled) leaving us in a gloom wherein all (people) looked alike to me. This made it hard to speak and also to listen; but no doubt good was done.

MORAL: Always test the wick when you fill your lamp, for a wick is as needful as oil.

Having an open date Friday the Winston comrades engaged another lecture and I gave "Why We Expect Socialism Soon" at the City Hall. But a brass band was practicing in the next room and could not be hired to stop. It must have chosen its heaviest numbers that night, for, as I was tired and nervous any way, the noise and the vibration annoyed me greatly; and I do not think the lecture was up to par.

The progress of the movement in and around Winston-Salem is due chiefly to the courage and activity of the Taylor Brothers who run a large tobacco factory and are prominent in business affairs and the Presbyterian Church. Also to Comrades Speas, Wilson, Grabbs, Boger and others. I shall be very happy when my way leads again to them.

This country appears odd to one accustomed to the coal-black soil of Illinois. Most of the fields are reddish-gray and nearly all of the roads and clay-banks are red as brickdust. When wet they are redder still. Sometimes for acres the fields and hillsides seem drenched with blood. This red clay is comparatively poor and is soon exhausted by corn or tobacco and needs annual fertilization at a cost of two or three dollars per acre, so that it is cheaper to rent land in Illinois (the yield considered) than to own it here. But wheat does well here, and sometime this country may become a vast granary when corn and tobacco are abandoned and more scientific methods of farming are employed.

At Spencer Comrade Quantz and his good wife, both ardent friends of this paper, gave me cordial welcome and a comfortable home for three days. This home will be remembered as another bright spot on the long way.

One good meeting was held, but the others were marred by the refusal of the court house after it had been granted and fully advertised. The comrades of the South must appeal to the law for the free use of their court houses. A legal test of this matter would save much trouble.

Nevertheless a branch was organised and Comrades Quantz, Bueck, Barclay, Shue, Brown, Kneeberg and others will keep things moving.

Charlotte is a pretty city of thirty thousand people, one of the largest in North Carolina, where Comrade Ahaus, an earnest, gentle, sweet, pure spirit, who reminds me of our beloved Comrade Braucher, of Danville, Ill., has chief command. His step-son, Arthur Medlin, is also an active worker, though "not a permanency" there. Mrs. Ahaus proved herself an expert hostess; and her brother, Mr. Oxenham, is an interesting font of old Cornish lore and ably assisted in my entertainment. (The trouble is one has to pack up and leave these pleasant places all too soon.)

The meetings here were not well advertised nor well attended. This town needs a *siege* and I hope to give it one sometime.

(The reader will doubtless observe that, in the midst of constant travelling, lecturing, writing, meeting new people, tearing up brief home rests, ammonia-gas, cold, darkness, storms, brass bands, mean politicians and bad arrangements generally, the propagandist's life is not all "flowery beds of ease.")

Many places in North Carolina, like Guilford Courthouse, have association with the revolutionary war. And at Charlotte they boast of having signed a Declaration of Independence before the famous one of 1776. The Carolinians also claim that at their seaports they boldly, openly and undisguised threw the hateful tea overboard rather than pay the tax. But they seem strangely apathetic now in the face of taxes and oppressions far worse than their spirited ancestors were willing to endure. And they look askance at the "revolutionists" who now proclaim the emancipation of the American people from the despots and pirates of finance. Nevertheless, we are making history on this historic ground which shall grandly finish the brave story begun by our sires of old.—E. E. C.

The Future Is Ours

BY RUFUS W. WEEKS.

The future belongs to Socialism. This means that the class which now controls government everywhere—the trading class, the money-makers, the bourgeoisie—is to be displaced; and that the class now in subjection, the class of workers, is to become supreme. The workers include three main elements: most numerous are the wage-earning hand-workers, then come the farmers, then the brain-workers—those of them, that is, who do work really useful. These three groups have a common interest in the downfall of the money-making class, and in no long time they are to see eye to eye and to depose their present masters, first from political control, then from industrial control.

That the workers are thus to become supreme is certain, because they are the vast majority; they have the physical power, and that determines everything, provided there is behind it a collective will and a collective conscience. The common conscience the workers already potentially have, its first manifestation being a common indignation now in evidence; and the common will is fast forming. The past and present supremacy of the trading class rests on the ignorance of the working class, but a multitude of voices and the march of events are dispelling that ignorance. No student of history, no professor of economics or of sociology, doubts that the workers are to become supreme. The reactionists, even, hope only to postpone that day. In short, everybody but the heir himself knows that he is to be king.

From the coming supremacy of the workers, it follows that the kind of political and industrial system which will meet their needs is to be established; and this, we are confident, will be the Co-operative Commonwealth. We are sure of this because the system will be dictated by the two main needs of the workers, which are: first, that every worker may be able at all times to find work; and, second, that there shall be no class of non-useful persons having the power to absorb part of the product of labor; and because no system can be conceived which will secure these two needs except the system of having the workers collectively own the plant of social production.

To put this inevitability in another way: it lies primarily in the fact that mankind's working habits determine mankind's thinking habits. We have had a period of individualist thinking—this was produced by the long era of small industry, of independent workers. But now for a generation or more the large industry has been coming to dominate, and the majority of the workers are massed in their daily toil in hundreds and thousands. This mass-method covers more and more of the area of production, and the process cannot go backward. It is the era of the collective working habit, and it is inevitably producing the collective way of thinking. Nothing can arrest the tendency, for it arises from mechanical necessity; and nothing can prevent this stream of thinking from taking the form of collectivist institutions. Certainly and promptly must this change take place, in these days when the workers have education and the vote, for these mean that they have the latent power, and the potential understanding of their power. The pure whimpers of belated individualists about "incentive," "efficiency," "tyranny and corruption of government ownership," and the like, will not avail against the Niagara of the workers' will. The collective intelligence will find its own expedient for obviating everything which stands in the way of results, as the collectivist process moves on, driven by the collective will—a mightier force than history has yet known. It is plain, then, that the future, the near future, belongs to Socialism.

The future belongs also to Christianity. I mean, of course, the Christianity of the new definition—which is after all the old, old definition; the Christianity whose creed is the Fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man. For man is an upward-looking creature, and a gregarious

—at Jesus main-creature; and these two spiritual habits have long since transcended the economic needs that gave them birth countless centuries ago; and man can satisfy these two needs of his spirit only by full faith and full love. These constitute a religion, and that religion is, as it happens, identical with the actual religion of the actual Jesus; hence Jesus is King of the future, in the realm of the spirit. Furthermore, it is agreeable to human nature to express the permanent feelings of the heart through symbols, whether words, pictures or acts. Hence the custom of statedly meeting for the expression of faith and brotherhood will continue; hence there will still be houses sacred to that use, and forms of word and song and act to satisfy the spirit's need of expression. It is true that for a generation or more the bourgeoisie has effectively monopolized the Church, through the prominence of money and the moneyed and the resulting blindness of ministers to the truth of the standards of right and justice which are natural to the workers. Thus has the proletariat been crowded out of its spiritual home; but now the workers are about to come to their own, to take what is their right in economic life, and also what is their right in mental and spiritual life; and they will naturally resume the habit of worship as they take possession of the Church along with the rest of their rightful patrimony.

The Church has survived the nineteenth century, spite of her two great sins of that century: those sins against light—her obscurantism which refused the light of science, and her mammonism which rejected the light of economic justice. Surely an institution of religion which can survive two such sins must contain a seed of indestructibility!

The Church is to-day fast freeing herself from the burden of an unscientific dogmatism and a false historicism; and, when mammon falls, as he must, before the irresistible impact of the aroused workers, and is deposed forever, the Church will be loosed from that burden, also, and then she will stand forth free in the light—the frank expression of the highest the spirit of man knows.

So, then, judging from man as he is and from the stream of events as we see it flowing on, the future belongs to us, Christian Socialists! "Fear not, little flock," said One, "it is your Father's good pleasure to give you the kingdom." Truly at this moment we are a little flock, but not for long shall we be so, for the promise belongs to us. The vast sweep of life is with us; for us fight the stars in their courses. Those tendencies in humanity which we note as leading the people on to Socialism and to religion are phenomena which are in the visible world the obverse of the truth in the invisible world that God lives and that He breathes the sense of His life into the subconsciousness of man.

Having then so great and so well-founded a confidence, what manner of men ought we to be? For one thing, we can afford to have all patience, and the full sense of comradeship with those Socialists who are not with us in religion—even those who scorn the name of Christian. For we can understand that their experiences have been such that in them as individuals hostility to church and creed is but the reaction of their manhood against the mammonization of a church which has taken the sacred words upon debased lips. The essence of our religion these comrades may have, though they reject it in words. We can afford to wait for the changed attitude which time will bring.

The knowledge that the Lord of the future is on our side, or rather that we are on His side, must give us cheer in our appointed task, cheer mounting even to joyousness. It cannot relax our efforts, for what soldier would fight with less ardor because he found he had a mighty ally? "We are saved by hope."

Owen Spendthrift has written a song entitled "Are They Going to Hang My Papa?" which is timely and striking. Can be secured from the author, words and music, 50 cents. 718 Ray Building, St. Louis, Mo.

Capitalism has destroyed individualism enough to be able to buy voters at so many cents per head. Socialism is restoring individualism beyond the possibility of the purchase of the individual.

Items From Everywhere

Edited by George H. Strobell.

The Moyer-Haywood agitation reached its high water mark on the anniversary of their arrest and deportation. No such series of meeting have been held in this country before, for this time the hosts of labor, North and South, East and West, are united in demanding justice. The conspiracy of silence has been broken and nothing has more contributed to that end than the offer of rewards aggregating $8,509.00 for the kidnaping of Taylor, the fugitive ex-Governor of Kentucky, accused of complicity in Governor Goebel's assassination, who is living in Indiana because the Governor of that State refuses to honor requisition papers for him. The reward is for any one who would take him out of the State and deliver him to Kentucky officials in the hope that the Supreme Court of the United States would be forced to reverse itself in the Moyer-Haywood case, thus proving that there is one kind of law for workingmen and another kind for other people.

The "Appeal to Reason" has issued another three million edition specially devoted to this agitation. It promises to become one of those cases that make history. Will this agitation avail? I am very much afraid it does not reach those responsible for this outrage. All the signs point to the predetermined conviction of these men.

* * *

At the very time when a Government Commission confirms the charges of criminal conduct made by private citizens against the Standard Oil Company Rockefeller gives to the General Educational Board for division among private educational institutions the sum of thirty-two million dollars. No part of this is for city or State institutions. It is to be placed by the board, which is a private charity dispensing affair, where it will do the most good in combatting the Socialist heresy. There has also been an advance in the price of oil since this gift was announced.

* * *

The progress of The Chicago Daily Socialist is very encouraging. The latest reports give its increase of circulation at about 1,000 per week. This is fine. We would say to our own subscribers, help it all you can. But we all know that in the last analysis, the Chicago comrades and those living within a radius of a few hundred miles, must make it a success. Nine-tenths of the readers will probably be found in that vicinity and without the aggressive support of every Socialist here it cannot live. The deal that gives the paper a printing plant and office equipment has been consummated and every Socialist who understands what has been secured is well satisfied. Now for 100,000 circulation. There should be a thousand men in this district to get 100 each during the next month.

* * *

The second balloting of the Reichstag elections has taken place. There were fourteen political parties with whole or partial tickets in the field.

The natural and unavoidable result of the "unity of action against Socialism" on the part of the dozen or more parties was the loss of 38 seats in the Reichstag, in spite of the fact that the Socialist vote increased by a quarter of a million!

Practically all the capitalist political parties combined against the Socialists. Never before in the history of the German empire had the Socialist party been engaged in such a clear-cut, single-handed fight as in this last Reichstag elections. Every means was used to misrepresent and vilify the Socialist movement. The entire governmental machinery was put in motion against the Socialist party. Every employe of the State was instructed to work against Socialism. The middle class radicals, who formerly pretended to be strongly in favor of Socialism, renounced their forces to assist in the defeat of the Socialist candidates. The new Reichstag will be composed as follows:

Conservatives 81, Agrarians and Anti-Semites 26, Center 108, National Liberals 56, Progressive or Capitalist Radicals 48, Socialists 43, Poles 20, Independents 12.

Here are the figures for 1890, including the last results:

Votes.	Candidates Elected.
1890—1,427,298	35
1893—1,780,989	44
1898—2,113,536	56
1903—3,010,756	81
1907—3,251,005	41

The total vote was 11,109,768.

What the outcome will be of this increase in vote and reduction in representation is not difficult to foresee. Whether the German Socialists like it or not it means a change of methods to some extent, in what direction will quickly be manifested. For all the material purposes of agitation in the Reichstag the minister of deputies is enough and the party leaders will instinctively turn to their enormous following and ask themselves, How can we make more use of them? And it may be that in fostering and creating this discrepancy between vote and representation the ruling classes here again proved their inability to direct events, for this most tremendous disproportion and disadvantage under which the working class suffers brought to the mind by such an object lesson is destined to still further unite that class.

A MORAL ANALYSIS OF SOCIETY

(Continued from Page Three.)

swer." But let a Christian manufacturer stop this and similar concessions of deceit to "business," and he will go out of business in short order.

The following "ad." appeared in the local papers last summer: "Spend next Sunday at Sylvan Beach. There are two churches at this popular resort, and you can indulge in harmless sports on land and water. Round trip tickets 80 cents." (The two chapels mentioned are never crowded. About forty or fifty at the Union one, and not over one hundred at the Roman Catholic.) Thousands go on such excursions. Let us examine the moral phase of this feature of our social order. The owners and controllers of one paper in which the above ad. appeared were one Presbyterian, one Methodist. In another, one Episcopal, one Presbyterian. Of the officials, owners, controllers and profit-sharers of the road, the beach, the stock company owning property there, many no doubt are sincere Christians. While they were in their pews worshiping God, men worked to earn a fraction of what they would some time place in the offering. The ads. and placards of such excursions cover the town. The working class, already abandoning the churches, patronize them. Note some of the direct results of which I know. A young man for the first time gets drunk. For the first time plays the "penny ante." For the first time spends a sensual period with a woman. Who is to blame for all this and these? No one man. The capitalistic and competitive age and system is to blame. It has been my sad lot to go to a house of "assignation," get one of my confirmation girls, arraign her in police court and have her committed to a "Shelter." The beginning of her downfall was at a popular resort of amusement. And the primary reason for the creation of these, from gigantic Coney Island to an inland resort like our local one, is "profit," the same as Sunday excursions are run, for profit.

One evening a few months ago I was walking up Fourth avenue, New York City; I was wearing a lay collar and tie, which I sometimes wear there, so that I may go about the parks, art galleries and the streets and stare about as much as I please without being stared at by people, at the sight of a cleric gazing at a tall building, or studying something that is interesting to him. As I came to the rear of Grace Church I paused to note the additions of chancel and choir building. I was promptly approached by an unfortunate girl and asked to go to a hotel with her. Curious to see the extent of this evil in great cities, of which I had heard, I walked slowly up the avenue to Union Square and was approached by eighteen girls. A friend tells me he has counted fifty-seven solicitations in one hour from the window of his apartments in New York. A striking picture in a recent issue of the Chicago Daily Socialist explains one cause of these awful conditions. A city church appears in a square, with spire and cross. Standing over the shadow of the cross is a man and a woman, the latter a "street walker" bargaining for the use of her person. An illuminated sign explains the scene. It is on a department store, and reads: "Wanted, girls at low wages." Put it down and never forget it. No woman is a prostitute from deliberate choice. Economic conditions is the underlying cause. Modern civilization has produced modern prostitution.

A German priest once called on me to remonstrate at my being a Socialist. As he was a shallow man I did not care to go into deep argument, so remarked for the sake of conversation that the Socialists were gaining strength in Germany. He acknowledged it, and indignantly declared that they stood in the way of the progress of the German nation. When I pressed him to tell me how, he said Herr Bebel always opposed the appropriation for the army and navy. As an apostle of the Prince of Peace he should have been ashamed for this remark. But this brings up the subject of war. It cannot be made to dovetail with the ethics of our Lord. Yet our bishops and clergy still countenance it. But a few years ago the Bishop of Washington went through the travesty of blessing and laying the corner-stone of a war building. Within the last two years our party in Europe has prevented two wars. The only practical "Peace Society" in existence is the International Socialist Party.

I will speak of but two other evils of our social order. One the tramp evil. Here, again, as in the case of women and prostitution, no normal man is a tramp from choice. Normal or abnormal, he is the product of our economic conditions. Moreover, he is an economic necessity. A manufacturer of Rome tells me that the year around he can profitably keep three hundred and fifty men employed. But that during the rush period he must have five hundred and gets them. But let me take a larger illustration, from the short periods of industry peculiar to each case. A young man seeks work in the wheat belt, putting in the crop. He gets big wages, but it lasts only a fortnight. He is then out of a job with no great amount of money in pocket. He goes to California and helps pack the fruit crop. This lasts but a few weeks. He goes to Oregon or Washington and picks hops. Then he gets back to the wheat belt and helps harvest the crop he assisted in putting in months before. Through it all he cannot save much if any of the money he earns in these *seriatim* jobs. So he may spend the winter in the lumber camps. How can he be expected to remain virtuous, honest and temperate? How can such men marry and establish a home? And the proof is plain of my assertion that the tramp is an economic necessity. For the small manufacturing plant in Rome and the stupendous agricultural enterprises cited, could not be carried on under the present capitalistic system *without a floating population,* unemployed a part of the time.

Lastly, Child Labor. God Almighty, blot out from thy book of remembrance the fearful crime of child labor in civilized society of to-day! There is no necessity of children working in mines, mills, factories or stores. Enough could be produced for the human family without it. The caprice of a heathen monarch was nothing compared to "the slaughter of the innocents" in modern industry. There was no "child labor" when our Lord took the children into his arms and [illegible]ssed them. And his command was, "Take heed [illegible]at ye offend not one of these little ones." Every man and every woman who has been or is in the least injured or dwarfed, or imperfectly developed, mentally or physically, by reason of working in modern fields of industry as a child, is that much "offended," cursed, by the moloch of private capital.

If one can view all of these and like evils of society and be content, then that person is dead. Some say, "Yes, but a return to and obedience to the Christian religion is the only way to correct them." I grant it. This is true. And it is the claim of Socialists who are Christians, that "the ethics of Socalism are practically the same as those of Christianity." I have had brethren acknowledge as much to me, and then forgetting what they had said, declare that "Socialism isn't practical;" thereby saying that Christianity is not practical either. Some people call attention to how much better the world is than before the advent of the Christian religion. It may be so. But the white races are supposed to have been Christianized since the days of Greek and Roman corruptions. We have been proclaiming it as a "Christian civilization" ever since I can remember. But it is not, so long as one member suffers, and suffers alone. The apostle wrote, "When one member suffers, all the members suffer with it." But that principle is not in force today. If I were not convinced of the inevitableness of Socialism by the Marxian exposition, I would still be a Socialist and an active member of the party from dissatisfaction with the present conditions of society, with its horde of evil features, facts, principles and incentives, as unavoidable, unescapable, inevitable as the laws of gravity. For certainly conditions could be no worse than they are.

A man recently told me he would become a Socialist and join the party, were it not for the fact that the Socialist program does not tell definitely who is to sweep the streets, who to hoe the fields, how to reward ability, etc. I can only say that in this great struggle a Christian ought to be fearless enough "to launch out onto the deep and let down his net for a draught" without knowing all of the future, but with faith in it, and in humanity and in God and in Christ, whose "Golden Rule" is prostituted to Capitalism by the Christian nations of every clime. Let me illustrate how un-Christian are the conditions of the present system of reward and merit, and I am through.

One man can keep ten men to work, we will say. The director, by his superior ability, directs the work of the ten to the producing of one thousand bushels of wheat. Grant that the ten men could not have worked without a director, yet the director could not have produced the wheat alone, either. The wheat is the product of the *social* labor of the ELEVEN men. Now let us divide the wheat, according to the laws of capitalism. The director gives each of the ten men sufficient only for their sustenance, and keeps all the rest to himself, even though it may spoil with weavel, as it does sometimes in the great granaries, while people starve for bread. Does the capitalistic method of division even approach the ethics of Jesus? Dare any one stand up and say that it does?

The Christian Socialist Fellowship

Rev. Lucien V. Rule, Secretary, Goshen, Ky
Rev. William A. Ward, Treasurer, Henderson, Ky
National Executive Committee of Fifty Members

THE SOCIAL CHRIST

Before thy coming I was like to one
Within his room, from all the world withdrawn.
But soon I heard the happy sounds of dawn,
And opened wide my windows to the sun;
Since bliss and beauty for me had begun.
Then forth again, like some glad-hearted fawn,
Into life's field I went; and joyous on
I've journeyed ever since; and there is none
In the whole land who tastes such sweet release,
Or finds such ceaseless, satisfying peace.
The birds around me can but half express
The rapture that I share; and skies which bless
Mine upward gazing vision seem too small
To shrine thee, now indeed my all in all!

—L. V. R.

* * *

Comrade Varshag, of Denver, has been very faithful in sending remittances. He urges again the preparation and distribution of special literature setting forth the aims of the Fellowship. The Conference number of The Christian Socialist has served this purpose till the issue was exhausted. Leaflets and constitutions will now be printed separately.

* * *

Every fellowship comrade who desires to know the great work of our beloved poet-comrade Ernest Crosby, who passed to the Larger Life a few weeks ago, should send five cents to the Public Pub. Co., Chicago, Ill., for a copy of the Crosby number of "*Public.*"

* * *

Comrade Wilshire has sent me a copy of his new book, "Wilshire's Editorials." The volume opens with the significant article: "Socialism: A Religion." Few men in our movement appreciate the ethical and spiritual side of Socialism as does Comrade Wilshire, and few give that conception such clear and convincing expression. Every comrade should have this book at hand. The price is $1.

* * *

Comrades outside of Chicago have been greatly gratified that Comrade Moyer has charge of the music in Comrade Bentall's meetings. Moyer's songs were a glorious feature of the Conference last June. We hope in time that he can work a revolution in devotional music.

* * *

The organization work of the Fellowship assumes definite shape in the large cities, and "Centres" will be in working order very soon, after the model of Comrade Bentall's meetings in Chicago. We desire him to give special suggestions to these affiliated "Centres."

Constitution of the Christian Socialist Fellowship.

Adopted at the First Annual Conference, Louisville, Ky., June 18, 1906.

ARTICLE I—NAME.

The name of this organization shall be The Christian Socialist Fellowship.

ARTICLE II—OBJECT.

Its object shall be to permeate churches, denominations and other religious institutions with the social message of Jesus; to show that Socialism is the necessary economic expression of the Christian life; to end the class struggle by establishing industrial democracy and to hasten the reign of justice and brotherhood upon earth.

ARTICLE III—MEMBERSHIP.

Its members shall consist of all those who, agreeing to the object of this movement, shall give their name for enrollment to the secretary. They shall become active members upon payment of one dollar or more per annum.

ARTICLE IV—OFFICERS.

Its officers shall consist of a secretary, treasurer and an executive committee of fifty members, five of whom, together with the secretary and treasurer, shall constitute a quorum, provided that on demand of any two members of the executive committee, any or all actions of the quorum shall be suspended until ratified by a majority of the Executive Committee.

ARTICLE V—DUTIES OF OFFICERS.

The duties of the officers shall be those usually devolving upon their respective offices. The executive committee shall meet in regular session annually during the month of May, time and place to be determined by a majority of the committee.

Special meetings may be called at any time by a majority of the executive committee to act upon such business as the call specifies.

All meetings of the executive committee and of the Fellowship shall be called to order by the secretary and a president shall be elected for the session.

They shall hold office for one year or until their successors are elected.

ARTICLE VI—CONFERENCE.

The annual conference shall immediately follow the regular meeting of the executive committee as the committee may provide.

ARTICLE VII—BRANCHES.

Branch organizations may be formed in State, County or City which shall have local jurisdiction within their own territory.

ARTICLE VIII—THE REFERENDUM.

The active members shall always have the right of the initiative, the referendum, and the imperative mandate, upon the petition of 10 per cent of their number.

ARTICLE IX—AMENDMENTS.

This constitution may be amended at any meeting by three-fourths vote of active members present; provided that notice of any proposed amendment be submitted to the executive committee two months prior to the time of said meeting.

Pamphlets and Books You Should Read

(Order of the Christian Socialist.)

An Appeal to the Churches by Socialist Christians. Excellent. Price, 30c per hundred; 10c per dozen.

A Christian View of Socialism, by George H. Strobell. 10c; $1.00 per dozen. One of the clearest and best booklets ever produced on the subject of Christian Socialism.

The Most Interesting Phenomenon of the Twentieth Century, by Rufus W. Weeks. Over a million copies sold. Price, 70c per hundred; ten for 10c.

Frances E. Willard's Endorsement of Socialism. 10c each; $1.00 per dozen. A beautiful and striking booklet.

The Socialism of Jesus, by Rufus W. Weeks. 10c each; $1.00 per dozen. An interesting, scholarly and helpful exposition of the social message of Jesus. Many thousands have been sold.

The Captive City of God, by Richard Heath. Printed in London, England. Regular price, 75c. Through the benevolence of a friend we are able to furnish a limited number of these remarkable books for 25c each. It is a gift.

Poverty, by Robert Hunter. Price, paper, 25c; cloth, $1.25. Everyone should read this great and awful book, in which the actual condition of the American people is clearly revealed. No one can talk on economics intelligently without these facts and figures.

Rebels of the New South, by Walter Marion Raymond. Price, $1.00. The most beautiful, delightful, pure and wholesome Socialist novel printed.

The Recording Angel, by Edwin Arnold Brenholtz. Price, $1.00. A story of mystery, love and revolution. The action is rapid, intense; the interest thrilling; the purpose noble, sweet and strong.

The Jungle, by Upton Sinclair. Price, $1.20. The novel which stirred the nation as no other has in this generation. Without this book the most revolutionary legislation ever passed by the American Congress —the Anti-Rebate Bill, the Meat Inspection Bill and the Pure Food Bill—would not have been passed. A terrible story, the exposure of diseased meat being a mere incident in a great and interesting plot. The one who has not read the Jungle is a back number. If you are one, hurry up and catch up with the procession.

Songs of Socialism, by Harvey P. Moyer. Price, 25c. The best Socialist song book, either for political or religious meetings.

The Voice of Equality, by Edwin Arnold Brenholtz. Price, $1.00. A volume of Whitmanesque verse devoted entirely to the spirit and logic of equality in its varying phases of ideal and application.

The Principles of Scientific Socialism, by Rev. Charles H. Vail. Price, paper, 35c; cloth, 75c. The clearest and most comprehensive book on Socialism for the money.

The Struggle for Existence, by Walter Thomas Mills. Price, $2.50. In clubs of five, $1.50. Generally acknowledged to be the greatest Socialist book in the English language.